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## **The Impact of the Reformation on Finland from the Perspective of Finnish Students at Wittenberg University (1531–1633)**

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**Abstract:** The question concerning the effect of the Reformation on Finland will be considered from the perspective of Finnish undergraduates who studied at the University of Wittenberg during the era of Reformation. This period can be defined as the years between 1531 and 1633, based on the number of undergraduates. Most of the 56 Finns who studied there during this period were theologians. However, among these students here were also the sons of noble families. Wittenberg lost its popularity during the 1560s–1590s but regained it during the 1600s–1630s. However, later its importance faded on account of the Thirty Years' War. The students from noble families used the skills of their theoretical education in the service of the Swedish administration. The theologians, for their part, were able to promote the dissemination of the ideas of the Reformation in their homeland by spreading what they had learned in Wittenberg.

### **1. Why choose the perspective of Wittenberg University?**

The Finnish Reformer Mikael Agricola studied at Wittenberg from autumn 1536 to early May 1539. Following in Luther's and Melanchthon's footsteps, he received his master's degree. He was not the only Finnish student during the era of Reformation, however. Founded in 1502, the University of Wittenberg became a significant centre of study for students

throughout Europe. Through the teachings of Luther and his colleagues, these students became acquainted with the basic principles of the Reformation. Wittenberg, moreover, was known for teaching the most modern principles and recent scientific thought of its day, as well as for high-quality teachers. From the perspective of spreading the ideas of the Reformation, the University of Wittenberg can be considered a very important institution.<sup>1</sup>

## **2. How to define the period of Reformation in Finland?**

There has been an interest in considering what kind of effects the Reformation had on Finnish undergraduate students, especially as Mikael Agricola was among those students who studied at Wittenberg during the era of Reformation. However, this period in Finland is very difficult to define. During this period, Finland was the eastern part (Östland in Swedish), of the Kingdom of Sweden. Thus, this historical phase in Finland was linked to Sweden and to the ecclesiastical and political changes in Sweden at that time.

In Sweden, the first stages of Reformation can be considered to have taken place in the 1520s and 1530s when King Gustav Vasa (1523–1560) gradually broke off ecclesiastical (i.e., official, legislative and liturgical) contacts with the Pope in Rome. At the same time, his own dominance as a king was formed by fighting against those who he considered a threat to his authority.<sup>2</sup>

Politically, Sweden broke away from the Kalmar or Nordic Union (Denmark with Norway and Sweden with Finland) led by the Danish monarch and developed into the nation-state controlled by a Swedish monarch. In addition, Gustav Vasa strengthened his own supremacy by fighting against the economic and political interests of the Catholic Church and the German Hanseatic League. This led to a long process that resulted in the establishment of an absolute political autocratic monarchy in Sweden and a church that was ecclesiastically independent of the pope and overseen by the king. In the 1690s, at the end of this process, Sweden can be considered a totally monarchical kingdom and the church in Sweden can be seen as a state church headed by the king. Hence, the

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Nuorteva 1997: 155–158; Heininen 2017: 67–99, and the literature mentioned in both studies.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Lavery 2018: 6–10. See also the bibliography of this study.

Reformation represented a period of nearly 200 years from the 1520s until the 1690s. (For an overview of the effects of the Wittenberg Reformation on the Church as well as the social and cultural life in Finland in the period of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, see Heininen and Heikkilä 2016: 56–85; Lavery 2018: 46–118. See also the bibliographies in both these studies.)

During the two hundred years, Sweden, including Finland, changed politically, socially and economically. The church, for its part, gradually lost its economic and political influence and with it the position of supremacy it held over Swedish society at all levels during the late Middle Ages. After the Reformation, the king confiscated ecclesiastical property and reduced the privilege of the church to collect taxes. The king acquired the right to appoint bishops, which had previously been the privilege of the Pope. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the king increasingly determined the teaching as well as the ecclesiastical, that is the practical, liturgical and even more or less the spiritual life of the church (see, e.g., Lavery 2018: 22–45).

In the Swedish society of this time, social harmony was formed and strengthened by political authority. In this process the role of the church in Sweden and Finland was substantial. One of the significant means to maintain this role was through ecclesiastical legislation and liturgical orders as well as through the religious teachings given during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, all regulations were adjusted by political and ecclesiastical authorities. In Sweden the church gradually became a state church. Similar political and ecclesiastical changes also prevailed in Germany, England and Denmark (see, e.g., Pirinen 1989: 70–103, and Knuutila 2019: 193–197).

### **3. The aim of this study**

In this study, we will discuss the effect of the Reformation on Finland from the perspective of Finnish undergraduates studying at Wittenberg University. On the basis of these Finnish students, it is possible to define the concept of Reformation during this epoch. Based on material derived from several sources, Simo Heininen and Jussi Nuorteva have researched Finnish undergraduates at the Wittenberg University. According to them, the first students matriculated in 1531, and the last probably in 1633 (Heininen 1980: 41–45; Nuorteva 1997: 159, 378f, 492f). Thus, more specifically, in this article, the concept of the era of the Reformation will

be defined as the 100 years from 1531–1633. The information on Finnish undergraduates at Wittenberg University 1531–1633 is based mostly on existing scientific studies, including monographs and articles. (For an overview of the effects of the Wittenberg Reformation on the Church as well as social and cultural life in Finland from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, see Heininen and Heikkilä 2016: 56–85. See also the bibliography of this study.)

This article will focus on three questions. Firstly, when did the Finnish students study at Wittenberg and what kind of social backgrounds did they have? Secondly, how popular was it to study in Wittenberg compared with other European universities during this time? Finally, what kind of duties and tasks did the students take up after returning to Finland after graduation. This defines the structure of what follows.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to mention the names of all the Finnish students at Wittenberg or provide detailed information about their studies there. Hence, only general information about them will be presented in comparative tables. In the last section of this article, some Master's students, like Mikael Agricola, will be identified because they held significant positions in the service of the Church in Finland.

#### **4. When did Finns study in Wittenberg?**

As stated above, the first Finnish undergraduates at Wittenberg matriculated in 1531, and the last probably in 1633. During this period there were in total 56 Finnish students. In most cases, they would have stayed in Wittenberg as undergraduates for several years if their financial situation was fine. Moreover, stays of more than a few years required recommendations of bishops, noble families and even in some cases from the Swedish monarch. However, for several reasons, some of the students stayed in Wittenberg for shorter periods. The last of the Finnish undergraduates, for example, only stayed three months as Sweden entered the 30 Years' War in 1630 (Heininen 1980: 41–45, and Nuorteva 1997: 159, 378f, 492f).

Why did those 56 attend their undergraduates studies in Wittenberg? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider their social background. This issue in turn, was linked to the implementation of political and religious as well as ecclesiastical Reformation in Sweden. This era of 1531–1633 can be argued to be one, undivided period. However, it consisted of several phases (see, e.g., Knuutila 2008: 86f, footnote 2).

A possible approach to analyse this period is to consider the political, religious and ecclesiastical aspects of the Reformation. In Sweden, these aspects were linked together because the monarchy wanted to consolidate its status through supervising religious and ecclesiastical issues. During the period to be studied, there were five kings in Sweden, all from the House of Vasa. The first one was Gustav I or Gustav Ericson Vasa (1520–1560), the founder of the House of Vasa. He had four sons, who followed in turn their father on the throne. They were Eric XIV (1560–1568), John or John III (1568–1592), his son Sigmund III or Sigismund (1592–1599) and Charles IX (1599–1611). The latter was regent in 1599–1604, named Duke Charles. Gustav Vasa's three sons and one grandson fought for kingship with each other, Gustav II Adolph, i.e., Gustavus Adolphus the Great (1611–1632), was the last king in the period to be studied.<sup>3</sup>

Each of these four kings had their own religious interpretations of the ideology of Protestantism, or in other words Lutheranism. King Gustav I tried to make the church administratively and economically dependent on the king but left a relative autonomy to the church deciding on religious issues and organize its ecclesiastical activities freely. Eric XIV, who had been influenced by Calvinism, tried to make the ecclesiastical practical and liturgical life as simple as possible. In turn, John III, who was interested in Catholicism, strove to restore the church hierarchy and to enrich the Protestant or Lutheran liturgical life. Because Sigmund was Catholic and his reign was relatively short, he did not have time to have a major impact on ecclesiastical religious and liturgical life. Calvinist-minded Charles IX tried to eradicate from ecclesiastical liturgical life all elements that seemed to relate to Catholicism. Instead, liturgical practice should be strictly of the Protestant type. This effort became even stronger during the reign of his son Gustav II Adolph. These periods, defined by the sequence of kings, can be identified in the sources of Finnish ecclesiastical and liturgical history (see, e.g., Pirinen 1962, *passim*; Knuuttila 1990: 351–380; Parvio 1990: 996ff).

In Table 1, the Finnish undergraduates at Wittenberg during the period 1531–1633, have been categorized according to their social backgrounds in the above-mentioned reigns. The numbers are taken from Nuorteva (1997: 500ff, 504ff).

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<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Political History, Sweden in "The Catholic Encyclopedia": <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14347a.htm>.

Government period	Clergy	Nobility	Total	% (n = 56)
Gustav I (1523–1560)	11	2	13	23.2
Eric XIV (1560–1568)	3	–	3	5.4
John III (1568–1592)	3	3	6	10.7
Sigmund (1592–1599)	3	1	4	7.1
Charles IX (1599–1611)	11	6	17	30.3
Gustav II Adolph (1611–1632)	10	3	13	23.2
Total	41	15	56	100.0

**Table 1:** Finnish undergraduate students at Wittenberg during 1531-1633

According to Table 1, 17 (30.3%) Finns studied in Wittenberg during the reign of Charles IX. In absolute and relative terms, this was the largest numbers during the period in question. In absolute and relative terms, the second largest numbers were the 13 (23.2%) undergraduates who studied both during the reigns of Gustav I and Gustav II Adolph. (One of the students was enrolled in 1633, the year after Gustav II Adolph's death.) When John III and Sigmund reigned as kings, the corresponding numbers were 6 (10.7%) and 4 (7.1%). The least number of Finns was during the reign of Eric XIV, when there were only 3 students (5.3%).

On the basis of the social background, 41 of the students belonged to the clergy and the 15 came from a noble background. This relation between clergymen, priests and noblemen, was similar during the reign of John III. The corresponding ratio varied only slightly during the reigns of Sigmund (from 75% to 25%), Charles IX (from 64 % to 36%), and Gustav II Adolph (from 77% to 23%). The highest proportion was the clergy (84.6%) during the reign of Gustav I.

To summarize, almost three quarters of the Finnish undergraduates at Wittenberg University belonged to the clergy. The acting church of Sweden had a need for employing learned men, who should be aware of the latest theological, philosophical ideas as well as other scientific knowledge of their time. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden was

arguably an essential part of the Protestant (or Lutheran) Europe, where the church had a significant role in social and spiritual life. This can be observed regardless of the political dimensions of the Reformation, as a result of the desire of the monarchy to have authority over the church (e.g., Nuorteva 1997: 150ff).

On the other hand, because of the political dimensions of the Reformation, Gustav I and his four sons and his grandson needed learned men concerning several political and social issues. Especially in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the monarch had no diplomats or other highly educated men in his service. Thus, he had to make use of members of the clergy who studied abroad. At the same time, the only Swedish university, i.e., Uppsala, was in a state of decline. For these reasons, the Swedish monarchs sent members of noble families to study in Wittenberg, which was one of the best universities during these times (see, e.g., Nuorteva 1997: 153f).

### **5. How popular was it for Finns to study at Wittenberg?**

Table 2 gives figures for Finns studying at European Protestant or Lutheran universities 1531-1633, showing the popularity of Wittenberg University among Finnish undergraduates. Again, the numbers are from Nuorteva (1997: 500ff, 504ff.). However, the figures given are somewhat problematic from a source-critical perspective. For example, some undergraduates are marked on the table several times because they suspended their studies and moved on to continue their educations at another university. Two undergraduates were enrolled in 1633, that is after the death of King Gustav II Adolph.

Table 2 demonstrates that at least 191 Finnish undergraduates have enrolled in 15 universities during the period 1531-1633. Ten of them were German universities (Wittenberg, Rostock, Helmstedt, Jena, Frankfurt, Königsberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, Greifswald and Vienna). At that time, Vienna was part of the Holy Roman Empire. One university is in Sweden (Uppsala), one in Estonia (Dorpat, in Estonian Tartu, belonged to Sweden in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century), one in the Netherlands (Leiden), one in France (Paris) as well one in England (Oxford).



University	GI	EXIV	JIII	S	CIX	GIIA	Total
Wittenberg	13	3	6	4	17	13	56
Rostock	4	3	10	3	8	16	44
Helmstedt	–	–	13	–	4	2	19
Jena	1	–	4	–	6	1	12
Frankfurt	–	–	5	–	–	–	5
Königsberg	1	–	3	–	1	–	5
Leipzig	–	–	4	–	–	–	4
Tübingen	–	–	2	–	–	–	2
Greifswald	–	–	–	–	–	2	2
Wien	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Uppsala	–	–	–	4	1	13	18
Dorpat	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
Leiden	–	–	–	–	–	10	10
Paris	–	–	–	–	–	5	5
Oxford	–	–	–	–	–	5	5
Total	19	6	48	11	37	70	191

**Table 2** Finns studying at European Protestant or Lutheran universities during the years 1531-1633

The abbreviations used Table 2 are

GI	King Gustav I	S	King Sigmund
EXIV	King Eric XIV	CIX	King Charles IX
JIII	King John III	GIIA	King Gustav II Adolf

During the reign of Gustav I, Eric XIV, John III, Sigmund, Charles IX and Gustav II Adolf, at least 18 Finnish undergraduates studied at 8 Jesuit colleges or seminars in Sweden, Germany, Prussia, Silesia, Livonia, and other areas which were then in Poland and Bohemia (Nuorteva 1997: 503). Although these colleges are comparable to universities, they are not discussed here because they are not Protestant or Lutheran universities. Finnish undergraduates mainly studied at universities in the German language and cultural area. During the reigns of Sigmund and Charles IX five undergraduates studied in the Uppsala University, while during the reign of Gustav II Adolph, there was already the possibility of studying at the local Swedish universities in Dorpat and Uppsala. In addition, some undergraduates went to France, England and the Netherlands.

In Table 2, Wittenberg University is demonstrated to be very significant to Finnish undergraduates during the reign of Gustav I. At this time, there was a total of 19 Finns studying at German universities, more than half (13 undergraduates, 68.4%) of them at Wittenberg. In the time of his successor, Eric XIV, the number of students abroad declined to 6x, half of them at least studied in Wittenberg although this number cannot be reliably deduced. During the reign of John III, the popularity of Wittenberg decreased significantly among Finnish students. Only 12.5% ( $n = 48$ ) of the students studied there. When Charles IX ruled Sweden, Wittenberg University was once again the most popular Protestant or Lutheran university for Finns (45.9%,  $n = 17$ ). Wittenberg was still a popular seat of learning during the rule of his successor Gustav II Adolph, for c. 18.5% of the 70 Finns studying abroad were enrolled in Wittenberg.

During the period under analysis, the number of Finnish undergraduates studying at European Lutheran universities was 56, that is 29.3 % of the 191 Finnish students in foreign universities. All in all, 150 Finns (78.5%) studied in universities in the German language and cultural area; this realm was thus the most significant territory for higher education of Finns.

It was not a new phenomenon for Finns to study in the universities in the German language and cultural area: at least 103 Finnish students had studied in those universities before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, they were also the most popular foreign universities for Finns with 72% of the total of 143 Finnish students. The first students, who were from Finland for sure, enrolled in the 1370s and 1380s at the University of Prague. Finns were studying abroad at least since the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Up until 1517, their chief sites of learning were at the Universities of Erfurt, Greifswald, Cologne, Leipzig, Prague, Rostock, and Vienna (Nuorteva 1997, 494–499).

Thus, universities in the German language and cultural area were familiar to Finns. However, at Wittenberg there were few undergraduates from Sweden and Finland in the 1520s. This was related to the significantly reduced enrolment frequency of German undergraduates there, which in turn was due to the internal disagreements and conflicts within the Church of the Reformation. Swedish and Finnish undergraduates were not sent to Wittenberg during this time because of the political and the theological distrust that Protestant or Lutheran ideas met at the University (Arffman 1990: 185, 192, 199f, 213f, 219, 227; Nuorteva 1997: 150–154). Thus, in the 1520s, the small number of Swedish and Finnish undergraduates at Wittenberg is understandable.

The situation changed, however, towards the end of the 1520s, when political and economic pursuits were encouraged under King Gustav I. Gustav's church politics incorporated this change, including the education of the clergy in the doctrinal considerations stressed by the Reformation. Priests were needed who committed themselves to the "new doctrine" and to taking practical responsibility for teaching and other activities. Thus, they should be educated for their responsibilities, the most talented of them preferably being sent abroad. Given this perspective it is not surprising that Wittenberg became the most popular place for study for Swedish and Finnish undergraduates (Heininen 1980: 41, 48, 50f; Nuorteva 1997: 155–158).

Eric XIV reigned for only eight years. Since his reign was so short, only three Finnish students were registered at Wittenberg during this period. As a well-educated Renaissance prince himself, the king was very willing to encourage studying abroad during his early years as a king. Later, in the last half of the 1560s, the struggle for the throne with his brother John as well as the wars with Denmark and Lübeck made it impossible to send more students to Wittenberg (Nuorteva 1997: 182–186).

At the beginning of the reign of John III, a peace agreement was reached with Denmark and Lübeck. In addition, unrests and the short war on the Russian border were ended by the Truce of 1572. There were now more economic opportunities for studying abroad. In addition, the political, legal and financial status of the Church became clearer at the beginning of the 1570s, when the new Church Ordinance of 1571 approved by John III formed guidelines with orders and instructions for ecclesiastical administration and practical activities in Swedish society. In the Church Ordinance, the importance of clergy education was emphasized and their studies abroad were prescribed as a normal part of ministry schooling. For these political reasons, both universal and ecclesiastical, it is understandable why undergraduates from the Bishopric of Turku in Finland were sent to Germany. They studied at a total of eleven German universities, and only few were enrolled at Wittenberg University. This was also partly due to the theological disputes in Wittenberg. As a result of these disputes, the teachers of moderate humanistic Lutheranism the so-called Philippists, organized by Melancthon, were replaced by genuine Lutheran teachers, Gnesiolutherans. Furthermore, John III sent undergraduates to Jesuit Colleges and Seminars. However, because of economic constraints only a

few students could be sent to Germany (Paarma 1980: 57f, 124f; Nuorteva 1997: 208–212, 232–246, 262–265).

During the government of Charles IX, the number of Finnish students studying in Germany grew only slightly compared with the corresponding number during the reign of Sigmund and John III. During the 1590s, the struggle for the throne between Charles IX and his nephew, the King of Poland, Sigmund, was at its most heated. Their political and ecclesiastical struggles affected Finland and prevented more Finns studying abroad. After winning the struggle, Duke Charles wanted to control overseas studying as, in his view, the distribution of power in the given political situation was still unclear. He continued controlling studies abroad even when he became king. Therefore, he accepted as places for education for Swedish and Finnish undergraduates only those universities which he considered to be reliable and orthodox, among them Wittenberg University. Thus, it is not surprising that most Finnish students enrolled at Wittenberg during his reign (Nuorteva 1997: 287f, 310–321).

During the first years of the reign of Gustav II Adolph, Wittenberg was still the most popular school for Finnish undergraduates. The number of Finns diminished in the early 1620s because of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, the daily activity of the university was paralyzed by the turnover in the staff of professors as well as by the economic problems encountered. Because, at first, Northern Germany was not affected by the war, many Finns studied at Rostock or Greifswald University. Later, when the war reached even these areas, studying became impossible there. Then, the only possibility to study abroad was outside Germany, for example in Leiden, Paris or Oxford (Nuorteva 1997: 373–381).

## **6. The impact of Wittenberg undergraduates after their return to Finland**

Table 1 shows that almost 75% of Finnish students came from the clergy. The remainder came from the nobility, who, after they returned, held various administrative duties in the Royal Chancellery. Until the reign of Gustav II Adolph, the nobility did not play a leading role in Sweden, but after that they had an increasingly significant position in the administration of the country and in the society. To carry out such demanding duties, the young noblemen should have a profound humanistic education and military competence. In Wittenberg, they had

the possibility of receiving this kind of wide-ranging education (Nuorteva 1997: 382ff). However, it is difficult to evaluate the real effect of Wittenberg on graduates in the Royal Chancellery from the perspective of the Reformation.

The question of the effects of Wittenberg on theologians is easier to discuss. Because the Swedish monarchs had approved their studies in Wittenberg, they were compelled to serve them after returning home. Some of them were called by the kings to perform different tasks in Stockholm, the centre of power. Others were ordered to carry out important tasks in their home bishoprics. For example, some theologians with a master's degree from Wittenberg were designated by King Gustav I to act in his Chancellery. In these duties, they were to promote and strengthen the royal authority in the church and the whole of Swedish society, because as graduates of Wittenberg, they had the political, theological and humanistic knowledge and skills for this purpose. One of these graduates was the German Georg Norman († 1552/1553), who had been appointed by the king to act as Ordinator and Superintendent. His main assignment was to accommodate the church to the king's rule. Another of the Wittenberg masters in the royal service was a Finn, Martinus Matthiae Teit (1500–1544). He studied at Wittenberg in 1536–1539 and was called by the king to act as a tutor to his sons (Pirinen 1962: 251; Heininen 1980: 30, 69; Nuorteva 1997: 161, 167).

In their home bishoprics, such as the dioceses of Turku and Vyborg, the theology, doctrine and ideology of the Reformation as well as humanistic knowledge were taught by the Wittenberg Magisters just as they had learned it during their university studies. They did this using various methods, e.g., by publishing ecclesiastical vernacular literature. By studying these books and booklets, the masters can be considered to have embraced the ideas of the Wittenberg Reformation and to have used its ways to disseminate them through their work in Finland. Although a total of 56 Finnish theologians studied in Wittenberg 1531–1633, naturally not all can be considered here in detail (Heininen 1980: 71f; Paarma 1980: 151f, 413f; Nuorteva 1997: 189).

Although relatively few Finnish clergymen from the Turku and Vyborg bishoprics studied in Wittenberg between 1531 and 1633, they were nevertheless established in the most significant offices in the dioceses and thereby were able to apply practices of the Reformation doctrine and ideals. These offices were, for example, the bishop, the director of the Cathedral School, which was responsible for the education of new

ministers, and the rector of the Turku cathedral parish. In the following, we will introduce three of these office holders: Michael Agricola (1507/1510–1557), Paulus Juusten (1516–1576) and Marcus Henrici Helsingius (1555–1609). Agricola and Juusten were bishops of Turku bishopric and Helsingius was director of the Cathedral School of Turku. Their publications are briefly considered from the perspective of how the effect of their Wittenberg studies are reflected in their texts (Pirinen 1962: 37f, 75f, 77 Heininen 1980: 41ff; Paarma 1980: 152f; Nuorteva 1997: 158–171, 181–190, 262–321, 373–381).

Agricola and Juusten were both first directors at the Cathedral School and then became bishops. In particular as bishops they published books for pastors. These books reveal direct influences from their studies in Wittenberg (Pirinen 1962: 47f, 57–63, 75ff, 132, 157; Heininen 1980: 18, 21, 23f, 49–53, 67ff, 91–94; Nuorteva 1997: 161–175).

Michael Agricola is called the father of Finnish literature because he published the first-known books and booklets in Finnish. Among them, there was the entire New Testament and some of the books from the Old Testament. Agricola started to translate the Bible into Finnish at Wittenberg. Here he could personally make the most of the works of Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon and Johannes Bugenhagen. The Finns Martinus Matthiae Teit and Simon Henrici (†1545) are believed to have studied beside Agricola in Wittenberg, participating in his translation work of the New Testament. In 1545, Simon Henrici bought the commentary book for the first book of Moses by Luther in Wittenberg and the commentaries for the second and third books of Moses as well as the Book of Judges and the Book of Ruth by Johannes Brenz (Heininen 1980: 46f, 49f; Nuorteva 1997: 163).

From 1536 to 1539, at Wittenberg, Michael Agricola also had in his possession at least ten books which were used in his studies. These books were dealt with theology (Johannes Bugenhagen: *Psalterium Davidis et integri sacrae doctrinae*, 1524, Aurelius Augustinus: *Omnium operum epitome*, 1537, *Altercatio synagogae et ecclesiae*, 1537), history (Gaius Plinius: *Historia mundi*, 1535), history of philosophy (Diogenes Laertius: *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, 1525), philosophy (Aristotle: *Opera I–II*, 1538), description of the countryside (Cato, Varro, Columella & Palladius: *Libri de re rustica*, 1535), geography (Strabo: *Geographicorum commentarii*, 1523, C. Julius Solinius and Pomponius Mela: *De situ orbis*, 1533, Joachimus Vadianus: *Epitome trium terrae partium*, 1534) and Classical drama (Actius Plautus: *Comoediae viginti*, 1537). In addition,

Agricola's personal library also included at least five other books, which he bought or received in the years 1531–1532 and 1544 (Heininen 1980: 47; Nuorteva 1997: 163–165; Heininen 2006b: 59–66; Czaika 2011: 21–23, 30–32).

In Wittenberg, Michael Agricola embraced the most recent doctrinal and ideological education of his time. In practice, this meant emphasizing, on the one hand, the ancient and biblical heritage, and, on the other, promoting humanist and reformist ideas. Agricola's education is visible in his works: the ABC with Catechism (*Abckiria*, 1543), the Prayer Book (*Rucouskiria*, 1544), the New Testament (*Se Wsi Testamenti*, 1548), the Manual or Agenda for Ministers, the Mass Book, the Passion Book (*Käsikiria, Messu, Se ... Pina*, 1549) as well as some books on the Old Testament (*Dauidin Psaltari, Weisut ia Ennustoxet*, 1551 and *Ne Prophetat Haggai ...*, 1552). Except for the Manual and the Mass Book, Agricola translated and collected from the works that he had been studied in Wittenberg or had brought from there. In particular, Agricola's most substantial work, the Book of Prayer (875 pages) reflected the extensive theological scholarship he received at Wittenberg. Agricola himself acknowledged this by mentioning, among other things, that the sources of his prayer book were taken from the works of Luther, Melanchthon and Erasmus of Rotterdam (Agricola 1544 (1987): 2f; Heininen 2006a: 120; Heininen 2017: 171–323).

Michael Agricola was ordered by Gustav I to translate the Handbook and the Mass Book into Finnish from the corresponding liturgical books of the 1540s written in Swedish, adding to the Handbook some parts that he had copied directly from the works of Luther. These parts did not exist in the corresponding Swedish liturgical ordinances. Thus, there were two advisory texts at the beginning of the baptismal order, one for godparents and godparents and the other for the minister. The source for both speeches was the "Taufbüchlein" of Luther, i.e., the Booklet for Christening (1523). Furthermore, an advisory text and a collection of regulations concerning marriage "Regulat ia Oienuxet" is included in the Handbook at the beginning of the wedding ceremony. The advisory text was translated from Luther's "Traubüchlein", i.e., the Booklet for Contract Marriage (1529). Moreover, some of the regulations were taken from Luther's "Von Ehesachen", i.e., the Booklet concerning Marriage Issues (1530). Due to the influence of Wittenberg, Agricola also added some parts at the end of his manual, namely the Book for Devotion and Consolation by Caspar Hubertinus (printed for the first time in 1529).

Furthermore, Agricola inserted a chapter concerning the “Story of Christ” from the work “Pharmaceutical Bag,” the first edition was published in Latin by Bishop Epifanios of Salamis in Cyprus in 1543 (Knuutila 1988: 283, 285; Heininen 2017: 271–279).

In his handwritten “Chronicle of the Bishops of Turku” (*Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum Finlandensium*, 1576), Paulus Juusten wrote that Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Caspar Cruciger, George Majos, Paul Eber, Erasmus Reinhold as well as Matthias Flacius acted as his teachers at Wittenberg between 1543 and 1546. Juusten studied under their guidance natural and world history, science, physics, anatomy, mathematics and astronomy. Juusten was also present at Luther’s funeral on February 22, 1546 (Juusten 1988: 80–83; Heininen 1980: 56–61; Heininen 1989: 90–93; Nuorteva 1997: 169–170).

For his part, Paulus Juusten emphasized in his works that “ecclesiastical ceremonies”, like in other Swedish bishoprics, should follow the example of the Wittenberg congregation. The bishop urged the ministry to use the Postils of Luther and other academic teachers at Wittenberg in order to improve preaching. Inspired by the influence of Wittenberg, Juusten himself delivered a handwritten Postil in Latin 1573 and gave the print of Catechism in 1574. He also drafted two manuscripts between 1573 and 1576. One of them was a travel description concerning peace negotiations in Moscow when he acted as an envoy of King John III and the other was the chronicle of the bishops of Turku, mentioned above. Both works reflected the tradition of Melanchthonian humanist historiography which Juusten had absorbed in Wittenberg (Heininen 1980: 53–62).

Bishops Michael Agricola and Paulus Juusten served Gustav I and John III in diplomatic duties by participating in peace negotiations as members of Swedish delegation with the Russians in 1557 and 1569–1572. In these days, the Swedish monarchs did not have a competent diplomatic corps and instead employed men who were highly educated and proficient in languages along with nobles and high-ranking soldiers. The Russians respected the bishops for protocol reasons. Therefore, the involvement of the two Wittenberg Masters in such duties is understandable (Tarkiainen 2007: 38–48; Heininen 2012: 95; Heininen 2017: 143–149).

When Marcus Henrici Helsingius enrolled at Wittenberg University in 1592, there were so-called “genuine Lutheran” professors, namely representatives of the confessional ideology of the early Lutheran Orthodox. The most important among them was Aegidius Hunnius, who



became Helsingius's teacher. Helsingius studied the theological work of his teacher – and he bought them. After his return to Finland Helsingius sold the new studies of his Wittenberg teacher. In Wittenberg in 1592, he bought, for example, the folio-sized edition in two parts of the Old Testament, “Biblia sacra Hebraice, Graece et Latine,” printed in Heidelberg in 1587. He diligently studied the work, which contained many underlinings and over 600 notes in the margins. Some of these notes are quite extensive and detailed. As a member of the Bible Translation Committee for the whole Bible in Finnish, published in 1642, he was able to use the knowledge and skills he had acquired in this way. It can be said that Helsingius conveyed the confessional ideology of the early Lutheran orthodoxy directly from Wittenberg to Finland. This is, according to Simo Heininen, the most important element of the work of Helsingius (Heininen 1974: 17f, 24f, 35, 65f; Nuorteva 1997: 282–284).

On August 10, 1593, Marcus Henrici Helsingius defended his dissertation “De rationali hominis anima metaphysicae propositiones” under the supervision of Master Caspar Hastaeus, and was promoted to Master on March 17, 1594. In 1603, Helsingius published his work *Elenchus seu refutatio succincta thesium Calvinianarum* in Rostock; it was a polemical work against Calvinism and challenged Calvinist theses. Helsingius's main sources came from Aegidius Hunnius – about one third of the *Elenchus* being taken from his dogmatic works (Heininen 1974: 250–261).

Helsingius can be called the first Finnish scholar because the *Elenchus* was the first scientific work written in Finland. He also had a comprehensive library of “Wittenberger art”, including basic works in theology, geography, astronomy and mathematics. Only Michael Agricola, who acted as a schoolmaster in Turku as well, had a more comprehensive book collection (Heininen 1974: 261f).

## 7. Summary

A total of 56 Finns studied at Wittenberg University in the period 1531–1633. Most of them were theologians. Among them there were a number of sons of noble families. During the reign of Gustav I, Wittenberg University was a very important study place for Finns. After the reign of John III, Wittenberg lost its popularity among Finns, but regained it during the reign of Charles IX and Gustav Adolph. Later, Wittenberg University lost its importance on account of the Thirty Years' War.

The sons of the nobility used their theoretical education in the service of the Swedish administration. The theologians, for their part, were able to promote the dissemination of the Reformation ideas in their homeland applying what they had learned in Wittenberg. The Bishops of Turku Michael Agricola and Paulus Juusten are examples of this effect. The Director of the Turku Cathedral School Marcus Henrici Helsingius also conveyed the thoughts of an early orthodoxy confessional Lutheran to Finland.

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